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WORLD ECONOMIC REPORT

Grave questions as to the "private enterprise" economy of the U.S.A. and its allies—are raised by the facts in the UN *World Economic Report* 1950-51, (May, 1952, \$1.50). The report deals with "Economically Developed Private Enterprise Countries" (U.S., Canada, Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, Western Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, United Kingdom), Chapter I; "Centrally Planned Economies" (Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, Poland, Romania, USSR, and Yugoslavia in Eastern Europe, and for the first time, Centrally Planned China), Chapter II; and "Selected Countries of Latin America and the Far East" (Economically Underdeveloped Private Enterprise Economies: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Cuba, India, Japan, Philippines, Formosa), Chapter III.

Developed Private Enterprise Countries Production

The Korean War spurred industrial production in this area, especially in Belgium, Western Germany and the US. "As in 1950, industrial production in 1951 rose in all economically developed private enterprise economies, and again there were wide differences in the rates of increase . . . from 1% in Denmark to 21% in Western Germany . . . Rates of increase from the end of 1950 to the end of 1951 were (without exception) significantly smaller than from the average for 1950 to the average for 1951. In a number of countries, output the fourth quarter 1951 was roughly at the level a year earlier, in Denmark there was even a decline of 6% . . . Most slackening in output in these countries occurred in civilian consumption goods and was due, not to shortages of materials, but to a shortfall of consumer demand."

Agricultural production rose moderately in most of these private enterprise countries. But in Australia 1950-51 food production was less than in 1949-50 and back to the 48-49 level; US food production went down by 5% in 1949-50 and remained at that lower level in 1950-51. US total agricultural production for 1949-50 was down 3% from 1948-49 and declined another 4% in 1950-51. Declines were also registered in 1950-51 for Belgium, Sweden and the Netherlands. "In Denmark, and apparently also in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom there was little change in the gross national product. Even in other countries where the average for the year was significantly above that of 1950, the increase from end of 1950 to end of 1951 was relatively small."

In these private enterprise economies as a whole *at the end of 1951* there was "widespread slackening in industrial production and total national output," and "an actual United Kingdom decline in industrial production between the first and second halves of 1951" due largely to "bottle-necks in the steel industry."

"Growth in industrial production in these countries in the second half of 1951 and early 1952 slowed down considerably. While armaments and investment goods continued to rise, output of consumer goods dropped. In most (private enterprise) industrialized countries, production of consumption goods fell below available productive capacity and pockets of unemployment arose in consumer goods industries."

Employment and Unemployment

Reduction in unemployment in the US in 1951 was "owing largely to a rise in the armed forces." "The civilian labor force did not show any increase." (Was the US economy in 1950-51 taking the way out of unemployment tried earlier by Hitler's Germany?) Despite the arms boom, unemployment did *not* decline in all private enterprise economies. "There were increases in unemployment in the Netherlands and Denmark, mainly from the downturn in economic activity in late 1951 . . . Unemployment in Belgium and Western Germany though below 1950, continued at high levels

The Methodist Federation for Social Action, an unofficial membership organization, seeks to deepen within the Church, the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solutions; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges. In seeking these objectives the Federation does not commit its members to any specific program, but remains an inspirational and educational agency, proposing social changes by democratic decision, not by violence.

despite considerable expansion of output . . . In Italy where unemployment has been highest in this group throughout the postwar period, there was even some increase."

Consumption and Living Standards

"Developments in consumption varied in 1951 . . . It fell below 1950 levels in Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, United Kingdom and US . . . The relative share of consumption in the gross national product fell in all these countries, except Australia."

Several factors limited consumption: "Increases in military expenditures and tax increases or cuts in consumer subsidies; limitations on civilian output; deterioration in the terms of trade (resulting from the post-Korea raw material boom); shifts in distribution of income in favor of profits."

Clearly then the general production rise in the developed private enterprise economies in 1950-51 was *not* accompanied by a general rise in consumption or in mass purchasing power.

Prices and Living Costs

"1950 and 1951 were characterized (in these private enterprise economies) by rising prices. The pre-Korean price rise sprang largely from late 1949 widespread currency devaluations (in countries tied economically to the US and its dollars). The post-Korean price rise resulted mainly from widespread private speculative buying in anticipation of future shortages and price increases and from stockpiling of raw materials by the US Government . . . Additional factors were increases in indirect taxes or reduction in subsidies."

For the citizenry in these countries higher taxes, as well as higher prices, were concomitants of the rearmament program, which some corporations found highly profitable.

Centrally Planned Economies

Production and National Income

"Substantial increases in national income took place in Eastern Europe during 1950 and 1951 from considerable increases in industrial production . . . Largest rates of increase in industrial production were in Poland, Hungary and Romania, up 25% or more each year. In the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the increases were 23% in 1950 and 16% in 1951. In Yugoslavia the rise in output was the smallest, 6% both in 1950 and 1951 . . . owing to a lack of imported equipment and raw materials and to a fall in the supply of domestic raw materials and of food."

Mainly because of the 1950 drought, the rise in agricultural production was neither so marked nor so general. The drought "most affected Yugoslavia, where grain output declined about 35%, leading to sharp reduction in livestock in 1950 and 1951. In Czechoslovakia, total agricultural output in 1950 increased 5% . . . In Hungary, output of bread grains rose by 9% in 1950, but decline in fodder output severely reduced livestock output. Bulgaria and Romania were much less affected by the drought and . . . the bread grain crop increased considerably. Poland, Eastern Germany and the USSR escaped the drought, and their agricultural production, especially of livestock, increased in 1950."

Employment and Underemployment

In these eastern countries the problem in 1950 and 1951 was not unemployment, but *underemployment*. "Shortages of manpower developed in many essential industries, particularly in Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland."

Consumption and Living Standards

Despite a varying rise in investment and military expenditure in eastern countries in 1950-51, mass living standards or consumption also rose, except in Yugoslavia. "In Yugoslavia, there was a fall in

investment in 1950-51 and a rise in military expenditures. Consumption began to drop sharply, beginning with the second half of 1950, as a result of the disastrous drought."

"In the USSR, the rise in supply of consumption goods was sufficient to bring reduction in prices of consumer goods. Increase in retail sales in government and cooperative stores amounted to 30% from 1949 to 1950 and 15% from 1950 to 1951. In Eastern Germany and Bulgaria, there was also considerable improvement in supply, so prices were lowered, some goods were de-rationed, and free sales of other goods increased."

Inflationary pressures, however, confronted other Eastern countries due to such factors as "the rise in real wages in Poland in 1950 . . . accompanied by recurrent specific shortages, especially of meat."

A FIVE-YEAR PLAN COMPLETED

In 1950 the USSR completed its first post-war five-year plan. At the beginning of the plan, due to the severe devastation brought by invasion and war, "production was considerably below the pre-war level. In 1945, grain production was 56% of the pre-war level, livestock numbers were also substantially below prewar (hogs, 50%; cattle, 85%; sheep and goats, 75%; horses, 50%). Industrial production at the end of 1946 was 76% of production in 1940 . . . In 1950, at the end of the plan, industrial production was 73% above 1940 . . . National income was 64% above 1940."

"Compared with 1940 grain output in 1950 was about 5% higher and the total number of productive livestock about 4% higher. Rate increase in total agricultural output was somewhat greater. Larger grain output was result of a 13% increase in yield, since the area under grain was smaller in 1950 than in 1940."

Consumption and Living Standards

Consumption probably rose more even than production when 1950 is compared with 1940—"because 1940 was characterized by considerable stock-piling. There was also a sharp rise in output of radios, motorcycles, bicycles, electric appliances, and various household goods, included in statistics of heavy industry. Finally, net imports of consumer goods rose."

Employment Situation

"The planned increase in the employment of wage earners and salary was considerably exceeded . . . Employment in industry rose about 26%. Output per man in industry rose by 37%. The rise in productivity was due to substantial increase in capital equipment available per worker. Stock of fixed capital rose from 1940 to 1950 by 58%, the number of machine tools in use by more than 100%, and electric power per worker in industry by 50%."

CENTRALLY PLANNED CHINA

"The economy was considerably altered in 1950 and 1951 by expansion of economic planning and agrarian reform . . . In addition to nationalization of industry and trade, consumer cooperatives, peasants' cooperatives and small industrial producer cooperatives were promoted . . . The trend of investment policy has been to emphasize development of consumer goods industries . . . Other investment generally has been confined to irrigation, power and military works . . . Before land reform, about 1/2 of the land was owned by landlords, who rented it to tenant farmers . . . about 2/3 of the rural population. As a result of land redistribution, a large proportion of the population have become independent peasants."

Production Trends

"Total agricultural production rose considerably during 1950 and 1951 due to increase in acreage cultivated, improvements in irrigation, and increased utilization of insecticides and fertilizers. Industrial production . . . recovered rapidly during 1950 and 1951 (from civil war dislocation), and by the end of 1951 had reached or exceeded the previous peak year levels in many industries. This increase was due to both higher employment and higher average labor productivity. An important factor in the rise in productivity was the breaking of bottlenecks in supplies of key commodities."

Prices and Living Standards

"Retail prices, after rapid increase in the fourth quarter of 1949 and the first quarter of 1950, were stable in the subsequent period, due to significant recovery in supplies of consumer goods and sharp reduction in the budget deficit . . .

"The recovery in industry and agriculture and the agrarian reform were accompanied by increases in the real earnings and consumption of workers and peasants in 1950 and 1951. In 1950 the total real wage bill increased by about 20% over 1949, and total rural consumption of industrial goods increased by about 30%."

Less Developed Private Enterprise Economies FORMOSA:

The situation in Formosa in this same period "was dominated by intense inflation associated with financing the budget deficit. In 1950

government revenue covered only 3/5 of government expenditure, leaving a deficit amounting to about 15% of the national income . . . In the first half of 1951 retail prices averaged 58% above the level of the same period of 1950. This rise in prices occurred despite a substantial improvement in the supply situation."

INDIA:

Production

Total agricultural and food production declined by 5% in 1950-51; the drop in cereal output was 10%. "1950 industrial production barely reached the 1949 level. 1951 industrial production was up nearly 10% . . . Investment in plant and equipment remained somewhat below 1949, both in 1950 and 1951."

Consumption

"Consumption was no higher and possibly lower in 1950 in spite of the rise in gross national product and income; and in the first half of 1951 consumption fell more than the gross national product and income . . . In the first half of 1951 wholesale prices moved decidedly higher."

JAPAN:

Production

Though "agricultural output in 1950 was little higher as a whole," industrial production rose.

Consumption

"Production ran well ahead of exports and domestic consumption, so fairly heavy stocks of finished goods were built up, probably for speculative purposes . . . Real consumption rose only moderately in 1950, and, in the first half of 1951 receded a little below the first half of 1950, due to a major shift in the distribution of income towards profits . . . which prevented real wages from keeping pace with the remarkable improvement in productivity. (Similar developments were noted in Western Germany.) That manufacturing output nearly doubled from 1949 to the first half of 1951 with only a small increase in employment, while real earnings rose by less than 1/3, provides a rough indication of the magnitude of the shift. Indeed, while real wages rose during 1950, the trend did not continue in 1951."

THE PHILIPPINES:

Production

"Agriculture and industry both contributed to a modest increase in the real gross national product in the Philippines in 1950 and the first half of 1951 . . . Construction declined significantly during 1950-51 . . . Private investment in plant and equipment declined sharply."

Consumption

"Rise in real gross national product over the period was accompanied by a somewhat diminishing supply of consumer goods and decline in consumption . . . In the first half of 1951 consumption may have been adversely affected by speculative accumulation of inventories." Increase in 1950 incomes went "primarily into profits, so it did not generate any material demand for mass consumption goods."

In 1950 there was "a considerable decline in urban money wages while rural wages may have fallen . . . Decline in money wages was due to increase in urban unemployment in trade, services and construction . . . In the first half of 1951 there was a rise in prices while money wages on the average did not improve. The cost of living averaged about 10% above the first half of 1950."

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN PRIVATE ENTERPRISE LATIN AMERICA

Agricultural output rose moderately in 1951 after actual decline in 1950, in Argentina and Chile. 1951 industrial and total physical output also rose—considerably in Brazil and Mexico, and slightly in Argentina, Chile and Cuba.

Consumption increased somewhat in Brazil, Cuba and Mexico; but failed to rise in Argentina and Chile. In the latter countries, "Despite some increases in gross national product, real incomes after taxes were virtually unchanged."

Consumer prices rose in all these countries; by 7 to 10% during the first half of 1951, for Brazil, Cuba and Mexico; but by 30% in Argentina and 20% in Chile.

The Acute Plight of Underdeveloped Countries

Most disturbing of all to socially conscious churchmen should be the continuing over-all plight of underdeveloped private enterprise countries, and failure of the more developed "Christian" private enterprise countries to meet the problem: "Since the war, there has been little or no further industrial progress in many of these coun-

tries." "For the world as a whole, consumption of food per capita is less now than it was 15 years ago. Moreover, inequalities in food consumption are now greater than before the war. This reflects growing inequalities in distribution of world output and income, and disequilibrium in international trade. While certain food importing countries lacked the foreign exchange resources to secure needed supplies, some food exporting countries were, as late as 1949, concerned with accumulation of surpluses of foodstuffs."

"In a number of underdeveloped countries, even the low prewar levels of production and per capita consumption had not been restored. Several underdeveloped countries which expanded their industrial capacities during the war showed little sign of further progress in the postwar period.

"Despite this situation, there emerged idle productive capacity in many private enterprise economies, both in capital goods and in consumer goods industries. There was also accumulation of surpluses in agricultural and other primary products.

"Technical opportunities existed everywhere for further increases in production which could be devoted to increased consumption and more rapid economic development in both industrialized and underdeveloped countries. Clearly, technical facilities were not enough to bring such increases."

Need for greater socio-economic planning to end preventable and crying poverty, was obvious: "Many underdeveloped countries were not able, during 1950 and 1951, to absorb all the capital goods they could have imported and paid for because their economic development plans had not advanced to the point at which they could determine what equipment they wanted and when."

The contrast between postwar economic practices, therefore, and the economic brotherhood, sharing and equality demanded by the Christian Gospel—could hardly be more shockingly clear: "The recent spurt of production in the industrially developed countries, while the progress of the underdeveloped countries has remained slow, has widened still further the production gap between them."

The report concludes its introduction with what will be but a pious, illusory hope—unless would-be followers of Jesus in such countries as ours, recognize early and urgently enough the imperative need for a fundamental change of economic policy—so abundant life will make more of a claim on us than destruction—butter and bread than guns or bombs. Unless we who would represent the Prince of Peace break with the ways of Death, the peoples who cry for justice will surely pass us by: "These facts lend new emphasis to present need for international action to bring capital to underdeveloped countries, to stabilize demand and prices, or—under mutually acceptable conditions—to permit the industrialized countries to increase the machinery and equipment to the underdeveloped countries to enable them to make more effective use of their abundant natural resources as well as to meet the demands of their trading partners."

J.R.M.

ON THE WAR ECONOMY

MFSA Memorial to General Conference, unanimously adopted by the National Membership Meeting, April 22, 1952.

The 1948 General Conference stated (Discipline of The Methodist Church, P. 2025, p. 599):

"The true end of economic activity is the satisfaction of human needs."

This basic purpose is obviously perverted by a war economy in which an increasing amount of our national economic activity is given over not to the satisfaction of human needs, but to the preparation and waging of war.

The tragic fact is that "we are now a warfare state, a permanent warfare state, based upon a permanent war crisis . . . permanent war, or preparation there for, has become the established basis of American political and economic life. The great bulk of the American budget goes into war production, military and naval expenditure and interest payments, pensions, etc., for the 'last' war. We are living in a state of permanent 'war prosperity' in which any serious increase in unemployment can be taken up by creation of a 'crisis' and war somewhere, with new war jobs, military service, and great numbers of 'surplus' workers literally 'plowed under' on foreign battlefields."

The United Nations' purpose was to be a peace-making instrument. Its use to wage war is a perversion. The resulting loss of confidence in the UN may well make it the first casualty in a third world war. Surely it is time for our church to turn the forces of Methodism into saving the UN by pointing out the foregoing facts, insisting upon a radical change of policy before it is too late.

We heartily concur with the North Carolina Peace Committee in requesting the General Conference to conduct a "Crusade for World Order" in the next quadrennium. Let the church through all its activities earnestly seek to free our country from the grip of militarism, re-establish an economy of peace, insist upon more creative cooperation with the UN, strengthen its weaknesses, restore its

primary purpose by demanding that our own government lead it in eliminating the real causes of war, such as poverty, disease, illiteracy, injustice and selfish exploitation of the needy peoples of the world. As disciples of Christ who judges us by our attitudes and actions toward "the least of these," dare we attempt anything less than that?

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The economic weather signals are changing. The business journals which announced that Korea had shown the way to end the business cycle are now warning that another recession is on the way. This word sugar coats the older term depression, just as that covered the bitter fact of crisis.

Back in April the Journal of Commerce noted that a recession had developed in the civilian economy. Now that it has become serious in spots U. S. News and World Report finds comfort in the high level of personal incomes. Yet it prints, without making the connection, a complete analysis of purchasing power which shows the '39 dollar to be now worth 53 cents. Organized labor sees the fear of depression behind the attempt of U. S. Steel to break the union by refusing the union shop, and in the activities of the N.A.M. for the repeal of price control legislation and the enactment of anti-labor laws like the Smith bill for government seizure of unions.

Barron's Weekly reports a halt in what it calls the artificial expansion of industries through the legislation that enabled the writing off of the cost of new plants in five years by tax exemption. It reported about 19 billion dollars worth of such expansion certified and 300 firms cancelling such projects they had been planning. The chief reason given is overstocking of supplies. Farmers now face a falling market, especially in livestock, and threatened loss of government subsidies. The steel workers union, whose members get more full employment out of the war program than most others, claim that the end result is that 97.05% of their members get less than the government estimate for a "modest but adequate" budget for a four person family standard of living.

The reason for these and other similar happenings is that the stimulus our economy received from war orders is wearing off. There follows an increase in "the sickness of the acquisitive society" as the natural result of the increased cost and destructiveness of modern warfare. The U.N. economic survey reports that the rearmament program into which we have pressured our allies is threatening the stability of their economy by reducing further their standard of living. This process is accelerated by the encroachment of our financial interests upon their investment fields, their industries, the raw materials they need.

Add to these developments the extent to which our economy is now dependent upon state aid, then the extent to which the rest of the capitalist world, particularly Western Europe and Great Britain, are dependent upon the United States, and the probabilities are that the depression now in sight will become the worst crisis in the history of capitalism. It can be postponed by another world war, but only to make the collapse thereafter, or during it, more widespread. And there lies the danger.

Our present policy is attempting two things beyond the reach of our resources; to maintain the capitalist economy in older nations where it has almost run its course; to overthrow socialist economy in lands where it has brought most of the people more benefits than they have ever had. What else does Truman's shift from "containment" to "liberation" mean? And Dulles' call to liberate 800,000,000 "captive souls"?

Those who have fashioned these reckless ventures are now being impelled by their course toward the war most of them do not want. The support the MacArthur policy toward China is now gathering shows that the nearer economic disaster approaches the more likely it is that those who for various reasons want war may have their way. Without peaceful alternatives to spark the economic machinery the rearmament policy that admittedly involves the calculated risk of war moves step by step toward that dread end.

This event would almost certainly involve the use of the bacterial warfare for which our authorities are preparing by their research, their increased appropriations, their refusal to sign an agreement not to be the first to use it. The double threat of economic catastrophe and unprecedented slaughter brings with it a third-political chaos, with the odds in this country in favor of our type of fascist dictatorship, whose initial concentration camps are now being made ready for occupancy.

This situation indicates that history has passed beyond the utterances and actions on the economic order at our General Conference. Judgment on concentrated wealth and excessive government controls, a verbal formula to remove the impression of hostility to the profits system, are both too little and too late. What the people need, and have a right to expect, from their religious leaders is clear judgment on the moral nature of an economy that threatens them with economic collapse, another world war and the destruction of the democratic process.

H.F.W.

CHAPTER NEWS

MFSA members in *Minnesota* met during Annual Conference to elect Chapter officers, collect dues, sponsor the social action dinner and forum, and plan for the coming year.

Their report to Annual Conference told of distribution by the Chapter of the booklet "Steps to Peace," of bringing to the Pastors School an excellent lecturer on the social Gospel, and of strong mobilization of action by members and churches toward the defeat of UMT.

Supporting the newly formed Conference Board on Social issues, the Chapter declared "There must be opportunity for honest fearless thinking, we must overcome the distrust and hysteria which are revealed in the numerous present-day attacks upon ideas and persons who challenge our habitual thought patterns and ideas. There must be freedom of inquiry, freedom of expression, freedom of association and, above all, freedom of conscience. We must think and let think, live and let live, in the faith that the truth of God, as revealed in Jesus, shall make us free."

The Local Federation Chapter in *Chicago*, long one of our most active groups, plans a campaign to recruit members, and secured from National MFSA a Chicago membership list to aid in that work. (The National Office will gladly send membership lists to leaders in Chapters or areas to aid in recruiting and dues collection).

At their meeting during Annual Conference, *West Wisconsin* Federationists voted that the chapter continue its support of National MFSA, and sponsored a Social Action Luncheon during the Conference.

During the *California-Nevada* Conference, MFSA members met, elected Chapter officers, discussed objectives, planned extensive membership recruiting and promotion in the Conference, and have written the National Office for promotional materials. This group has voted cooperation with the new Board of Social Relations, a new fellowship within the Conference, and National MFSA.

In its report to Annual Conference, *Oregon* MFSA cited the establishment by General Conference of an official body in the field of social action, as vindication of the educational work of MFSA over the past 44 years.

The Conference heard a report on the Mill Valley Membership Meeting and its memorials to General Conference.

The Executive Committee of the *Oregon* Federation has begun the new fiscal year by electing Chapter officers, and, the Chapter having reached the necessary requirement (50 paid-up voting members), elected one member to the Executive Committee and five to the National Committee of MFSA. *Oregon* MFSA has been active in behalf of the rights of foreign born, in the *Oregon* Council of Churches Committee on State Institutions, and in sponsoring forums on social issues. A Committee was named to attend the sessions of the Portland Ministerial Association to work toward the rights of Negro children in the Junior Rose Festival, and toward an investigation of the failure of the Negroes to secure recognition in the recent Olympic tryouts for *Oregon* athletes.

Genesee MFSA members called on Associate Secretary W. T. Brown to address their meeting at Annual Conference. The group elected Chapter officers for the coming year, and held discussion on the questions of name and office location.

And while the Associate Secretary visited *Genesee*, his own *North Carolina* Conference MFSA was addressed by the Executive Secretary. At that Conference members were recruited, dues collected, and plans were made for a week of intense promotion in that Conference, in the fall.—O. S.

GO AND DO THOU LIKEWISE

The completely revised 1952 edition of MFSA booklet, "What Everybody Should Know About Propaganda," by Prof. Clyde R. Miller, is rich with current examples and much hitherto unpublished material—material with direct bearing on war or peace, on democracy and civil liberties. Out of print for some time, it has been in great demand. The booklet sells for 25 cents, but we will gladly supply to chapters or individuals in quantity at a lesser rate. We need your help to get this booklet into the hands of churchmen everywhere. Send your order now.

And orders for single copies are sought—at 25 cents each.

A CHAPTER PROJECT

"I suggest we put on an intensive campaign for new members. I am organizing a social action group in my church, affiliated . . . with MFSA. Enclosed find first membership." Reynold Hoover

"In view of the constant attack and red-baiting being hurled at the MFSA, I am convinced that you are doing Christ's work and am accordingly sending more money this year. Keep up your good work." James F. McEvoy

A SPEECH NO ONE HEARD

By Bishop Edgar A. Love

(Dr., now Bishop, Edgar Love, was one of several outstanding Negro delegates unable to get General Conference floor in the Federation debate. We print the speech he wanted to give.) Bishop and fellow delegates:

In the Episcopal Address Bishop Kern ably represented our Bishops and our great Methodist traditions.

"Original Methodism was a bold and challenging defense of the rights of the underprivileged and the dispossessed against the predatory indifference of an economic aristocracy, most of whom were perfectly decorous members of a church that had forgotten its mission to the multitude. This social concern is in our bloodstream."

"There have always been both preachers and laymen among us who want to declare 'out of bounds' any Methodist who dares to think and preach independently and creatively upon the issues of the current social and economic order. They profess great love for our church, they have a heavy stake in the preservation of the existing order, and they want the church to stay off controversial subjects . . . They want to preserve 'the original character of Methodism'. Would God they knew their history better!"

Let us be true to our Methodist traditions.

Whatever your feelings about the Methodist Federation (and it must have faults as well as virtues)—it is only fair that you know how my people feel. Most attacks on the organization stemmed from that membership meeting in Kansas City at which Bishop Brooks was elected President. Bishop Bowen is a Federation vice president I have served a long time on the Executive Committee, and was once its Recording Secretary, a post later held by Dr. S. M. Riley, Jr.

Contrast Federation leadership selection practices with leadership selection practices of the unofficial bodies and publications attacking the Federation—bodies and publications not now singled out for attack. Can my people be prevented from drawing conclusions from this contrast?

When we Negro Methodists eat in the cafeteria in our own Methodist Building in Washington with equality and dignity, we know the role the Federation played under Bishop Hartman in getting those doors opened for us.

When the University of Oklahoma began opening doors to all students, we recalled how a small MFSA Chapter of southern white students on that campus campaigned to get the University doors open to all.

We should think twice before we single out the Federation or any one body of Methodists for adverse action. The Federation, whatever its faults, has not failed to seek to break down the barriers which deny the brotherhood for which the Gospel of Jesus calls.

The eyes of Negro Methodists, and of colored and oppressed people everywhere, are on our church, on this General Conference, and on our society.

If this General Conference breaks all precedent by singling out the MFSA for critical attention or punitive action—not mentioning other unofficial groups or magazines which have not established records of service for brotherhood, that will hurt our Methodist traditions and our Methodist principles of fair play, and possibly even our Methodist membership statistics here and abroad more than it could possibly hurt the Federation.

There are many unofficial groups. If we neglect all the others and single out for discrimination the 45-year old MFSA, many who know the feel of discrimination, may, in loyalty to fair-play, rise to the Federation's defense—possibly giving it greater numbers and influence than ever.

If you think the Federation is of the devil—leave it alone, and it will destroy itself.

But if it be, in any measure, of God—nothing, my dear friends, which we do here, could possibly destroy it.

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